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ABSTRACT

Many Asian countries have strong elements of nationalistic education in their civic education. In 1996, a year before the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China, a new official "Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools" was issued by the Education Department. This document proposes a curriculum framework with equal emphasis on human rights education, education for democracy, education for rule of law, nationalistic education, global education, and education for critical thinking. After July 1997, there has been very strong public pressure for more nationalistic education, and more schools were taking the initiative to implement nationalistic education. This paper attempts to construct a framework to study the understanding of nationalism of teachers implementing nationalistic education in Hong Kong secondary schools and to construct a framework to study whether the practice of nationalistic education in schools is guided by good practice of civic education. The framework consists of a set of questions based on the three promising pedagogies of citizenship: civic participation, an issues-based approach, and critical thinking. (Contains 123 references.) (SLD)

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A Search for Rational Nationalistic Education in Hong Kong

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A Search for Rational Nationalistic Education in Hong Kong

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Abstract

Civic education has been idealized and assigned the mission of preparing critical thinking, responsible, participating, multidimensional citizens. But on the other hand, civic education is also charged with the responsibility of moralizing the citizens into characters like punctuality, obedience, docility, and deference. It is also used to serve the function of instilling the sense of national identity, unquestioned loyalty to the nation state and patriotism.

Many Asian countries have strong elements of nationalistic education in their civic education. In 1996, one year before the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to Chinas, a new official *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1996)*, proposing a curriculum framework with equal emphasis on human rights education, education for democracy, education for rule of law, nationalistic education, global education and education for critical thinking was introduced by the Education Department, which is to be implemented in schools starting from September of 1996. After 1 July, 1997, there was a very strong pressure from the society, asking for more nationalistic education and more schools were taking the initiative to implement nationalistic education.

This paper attempts to (1) construct a framework to study the understanding of nationalism of teachers implementing nationalistic education in Hong Kong secondary schools and (2) construct a framework to study whether the practice of nationalistic education in schools is guided by good practice of civic education.

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Rationale

Over the last decade, we have witnessed a remarkable increase in interest and activities in civic or citizenship education[1] in different parts of the world. Substantial international research projects have been completed, for example, the Unesco project in 1997, the Citizenship Education Policy Project which involved nine countries in 1997 (Cogan et al 1997), and some are still going on, for example, the civics assessment project of the International Assessment of Educational Achievement (IEA in press) and a study of civics and values in the Asia-Pacific region (Print 1997). There were also a lot of civic education activities in different parts of the world, for example the Civitas Pan American in 1996, Civitas African in 1997 and Civitas@ Kuala Lumpur in 1998 . These activities reflect the level and widespread nature of the interest in civic education.

Civic education has been idealized and assigned the mission of preparing critical thinking, responsible, participating, multidimensional citizens, (including personal dimension, social dimension, spatial dimension and temporal dimension), for the 21 st century (Cogan et al 1997 : 29-43). Echoing an idea similar to multidimensional citizenship, the concept of 'cube of citizenship' is also proposed by Heater (1990). But on the other hand, civic education is also charged with the responsibility of moulding citizens into moral characteristics like punctuality, obedience, docility, deference (Moroz 1994,1996; Nelson 1997; Porter & Stradling 1982). It is also used to serve the function of instilling a sense of national identity, loyalty to the nation state and patriotism (Nelson 1997; Moroz 1994,1996; Thomas 1990,1993; Tse 1997). This implies that there are a lot of cases where civic education is in fact serving the purpose of moral education and nationalistic education or patriotic education[2].

Many Asian countries[3], like Japan, have quite strong elements of nationalistic education in their civic education (Otsu 1997). In Thailand, civic education has strong elements of moral education and religious education based on Buddhism with underlying support for the monarchy and the nation (Pitiyanuwat & Sujiva 1997). For the Philipines, similar functions are served by 'values education' with emphasis on a 'deep sense of nationalism, commitment to the progress of the nation. But it also has an emphasis on global solidarity (Quisumbing 1994 : abstract).' In Singapore, moral and civic education is also charged heavily with the responsibility of nation building and preservation of cultural and national identity (Wei 1994). Under the influence of Confucianism and the Father of China, Dr.Sun Yet-san's Three Principles of People, civic education in Taiwan is also loaded with moral education and nationalistic education (Liu 1997). In Indonesia,

in response to the 'principle of patriotism , nationalism' of the Nation's Five foundation Principles, patriotic education is very dominate (Thomas 1990,1993). Indeed, civic education in many Asian countries may be perceived as very loaded with elements of moral and nationalistic education. Even civic education in USA may also be very patriotic (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen 1975:17-19), with emphasis on "unquestioned patriotism, loyalty to government and nationalism" (Turner 1981: 56), especially in a crisis situation, for example, the Gulf War (Knowles 1993).

But is it a 'good' scenario that civic education in so many countries is so heavily linked with nationalistic education ? Are there potential dangers ? Nationalism has been and will remain as one of the most powerful forces in the modern world. It has been pointed out that in the past several years, we have witnessed not only a global resurgence of democracy but also a resurgence of nationalism and ethnic conflict (Dahbour & Ishay 1995 : 1-18 ; Diamond &Plattner 1994 : ix-x).With the downfall of Soviet and the East European communism, we witnessed a 'wave of democratization' but at the same time, a lot of unrest and even civil wars are due to nationalism. Ignatieff (1993) has warned that "modern nationalism is a language of the blood: a call to arms which can end in the horror of ethnic cleansing"(cover flap). But at the same time, there are calls for rational nationalism which is compatible with democracy and human rights (Diamond &Plattner 1994; Ng 1997; Tamir 1993) and moderate nationalism (Lichtenberg 1997). What exactly is the relationship between nationalism and democracy? Are they friend or enemies ? It seems that there are conflicting views (Diamond & Plattner 1994 : x, Greenfeld 1992 : 10-14). At the same time, there is a debate between patriotism and cosmopolitanism (Cohen 1996). Are they enemies or friends ? Will some basic values like human rights which bind all human together as global citizens be suppressed by nationalism ? It has been suggested that 'there may be some inherent incompatibility in trying to foster both patriotism and such democratic values as freedom to criticize the government, equal rights for all citizens, tolerance of diversity and freedom of the mass media (Torney,Oppenheim & Farnen 1975:18). In a nutshell, is nationalism a 'blessing' or 'curse' for mankind?

On 1 July, 1997, the sovereignty of Hong Kong was returned to the People's Republic of China as a Special Administration Region. Hong Kong has been promised a policy of 'One Country, Two Systems' in the constitutional document: *Basic Law*, that Hong Kong people are granted policy to run their own capitalist system and way of life, including educational policies, which is so different from the socialist system and way of

life in mainland China. In 1996, one year before the return of sovereignty, a new official *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1996)* proposing a curriculum framework with equal emphasis on human rights education, education for democracy, education for rule of law, nationalistic education, global education and education for critical thinking (Leung 1996) was published by the Education Department. Schools were expected to implement the *Guidelines (96)* starting from September of 1996 through by 'school based approach'. But will the *Guidelines (96)* with such emphasis 'survive' intact, after the return of sovereignty as promised? How will they be affected by the counter part, moral/political-ideological education[4], in People's Republic of China, which is certainly very ideological in nature, with much emphasis on patriotism (Chen 1988 : ; Deng 1988 : ; Editorial Committee for Ideological, Political Teaching Materials for Secondary School 1996 : 11-20; King 1996 : 95-104 ; Lee 1997 : 99-114; Li 1988 ;).

In addition, requests for more nationalistic education from local people and Chinese officials in Hong Kong appear very pressing. They argued strongly that after one hundred and fifty five years of colonial rule, Hong Kong people are very alienated from China and the sense of being Chinese is very weak. Research by the Hong Kong Curriculum Development Council has shown that the knowledge of China by Hong Kong students is very limited and the score on 'civic attitudes' about China was relatively low (CDC 1995: 78). Other research had shown that, on one hand , the feeling of Hong Kong youth towards the Chinese tradition, culture, history is rather positive. On the other hand, however, they lack confidence in the future of China. Researchers have also revealed that the sense of being 'Hong Kongness' is much stronger than the sense of being Chinese (Mingpao Daily News 2.10.98; Wong & Shum 1996). As the sovereignty of Hong Kong has returned to China, this phenomenon is considered as very inappropriate. Therefore the strengthening of the sense of belonging to China and the national identity by nationalistic education should receive very serious attention.

A very strong voice demanding more nationalistic education was heard from the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers, a 'pro-China' teacher union, the Xinhua (the New China News Agency) Hong Kong Branch, the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office, government officials and the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong Special Administration Region, Mr.Tung Chee Hwa. They pointed out clearly that the most important aim of civic education is to help the students to understand the mother country, the nation , the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy and to cultivate the sense of belonging to China and the sense of pride of being a Chinese. Therefore, the most

important aspect of civic education is nationalistic education and education of the Basic Law.' (Mingpao Daily News 2.10.98; Singtao Daily News 7.4.96; Tai Kung Pao 10..96 ;Wen Wei Pao 24.1.96) The *Guidelines (96)* were criticized as not paying enough attention to nationalistic education.

Will the scenario in Hong Kong become "insertion of new elements designed to promote nationalistic and patriotic education under the aegis of civic education", as pointed out by Morris (1997:122) ? Will nationalistic education really serve the mission of civic education: preparing critical thinking, responsible, participating, multidimensional citizens ? Will nationalistic education be in harmony or conflict with other foci of the *Guidelines (96)*, that is human rights education, education for democracy, education for rule of law, global education and education for critical thinking ? Empirical research in this issue will clarify the issues. In addition, the clarification can provide Hong Kong civic educators with a clearer perspective on the issues, on which they will be able to develop the planning of a more balanced civic education programmes.

Aims

The first purpose of this research is to find out the understanding of nationalism and nationalistic education of secondary school civic educators, those teachers responsible for implementing civic education in Hong Kong. Secondly, it attempts to explore whether there are differences in the understanding of nationalism and nationalistic education among the civic educators in different types of schools, including the so called 'pro-China schools[5]'.The third purpose is to study the implementation of nationalistic education within civic education programme in some schools

This research intends to address the following research questions:

1. What are the understandings of nationalism, nationalistic education and civic educationof secondary school civic educators in Hong Kong?
2. How are these understandings related to the other aspects of civic education proposed in the *Guidelines (96)*, namely education for democracy, human rights education, education for rule of law, nationalistic education, global education and education for critical thinking ?
3. What are the differences in the understandings, attitudes and feelings towards nationalism and nationalistic education among civic educators in different types of schools, including the so called 'pro- China schools'?
4. What are the role and status of nationalistic education in school based civic education

programmes in Hong King ?

5. What are the common pedagogical strategies use in nationalisitc education and their characteristics ?

6.. To what degree and in what ways are the common pedagogical strategies in nationalistic education consistent with those in civic education?

7.. To what degree can civic education teachers in Hong Kong be considered to be promoting nationalism as compared with civics ?

Literature review

Nationalism

Both the concept 'nation' and 'nationalism' are essentially contested concepts, that is, terms which resonate with a number of different meanings and with little consented agreement in definition (Connolly 1974 :9; Dahbour & Ishay 1995 : 1-3; Hutchinson &Smith 1994 :4-10; Snyder 1976 :18,19).

For 'nation', even agreed consensus on the 'subjective' and 'objective' factors in the definition of the term is missing (Hutchinson & Smith 1994; Couture, Nielsen & Seymour 1998: 10-23). Some scholars emphasize 'objective factors', for example, language, territory, economic life, psychological make up (Stalin 1973). Some others may include history, blood ties, race, religion, custom (Geertz 1963). But for some, nation is an imagined, invented or constructed community (Anderson 1991; Smith 1993), which is a very subjective concept.

Originally, the word 'nation' came from the Latin 'natio' meaning 'something born' or 'common blood ties' (Connor 1978 : 381; Greenfeld 1992 : 4). The word evolved as it interacted with the particular situations. The pattern of change in meaning was described by Greenfeld as 'the zigzag pattern of semantic change' (Greenfeld 1992 : 4,5).

For the purpose of this study, a composite definition by Smith (1996/7 : 9-11) which is useful for building a framework for understanding of nationalism, is used to guide the research :

> nation as a named human population occupying an historic territory and possessing shared myths and memories, a public culture, a single economy and equal rights and duties for all members (p.10).

The two embedded conceptions of nation: 'civic' and 'ethnic' are useful for this study. The 'ethnic conception of nation' emphasizes common historic territory, shared myths and memories; while the 'civic conception of nation' emphasizes the common rights and duties.

Similarly, the two versions of nation : cultural version and democratic version suggested by Tamir (1993 : 57-77) is also useful for building up an framework for the understanding of nationalism. The cultural version of nation is defined as :

> a community sharing a set of objective characteristics grouped under the rubric

> of culture and national consciousness. The right to national self -determination is understood as the right of a nation, or more precisely, the member of a nation, to preserve their distinct existence, and to manage communal life in accordance with their particular way of life (p.69).

A democratic version of nation suggests : .

> 'it refers to the 'governed', that is, the group of individuals living under the same rule. Hence, self-determination is understood as the right of individuals to participate in the governing of their lives and to participate in the determination of the aims and the policies. That is, they have a right to say in the fundamental decisions affecting the political process. It thus places at the centre the right of individuals to participate in their country's government. This right relies on the principle explicitly affirmed in the 1947 Universal Declaration of Human Rights :" Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representatives" (p.69,70).

It can be seen that the 'ethnic conception of nation' by Smith and the 'cultural version of nation' by Tamir have very similar meanings; so do both 'civic conception of nation' by Smith and 'democratic version of nation' by Tamir. Both the conceptions of 'nation' by Tamir and Smith are useful in building a framework for the understanding of nationalism.

For nationalism, it is commonly accepted as meaning the support for a nation by the members of the nation. But it is another essentially contested concept. Nationalism can be defined as ideology, sentiment, movement (Hutchinson &Smith 1994 :5). It can also be described as state of mind and idea (Kohn 1945 : 162-165). As an ideology, nationalism may be described as :

> a way of thinking the world which emphasizes the importance of nations in explaining historical developments and analyzing contemporary politics and also typically claims that 'national character' is a pervasive factor in differentiating human beings. It carries the implication that all human beings should have only one nationality which should be their primary focus of identity and loyalty (Miller 1995: 352).

As a sentiment, it may be described as :

> that sentiment of a group or body of people living within a compact or a non-

> contiguous territory, using a single language or related dialects as a vehicle for common thoughts and feelings, holding a common religious belief, possessing common institutions, traditions and customs acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history, venerating national heroes and cherishing a common will for social homogeneity.' For the 'we' sentiment, it did not necessarily develop from the same ethnic origin. Any one or more of these elements may be lacking without affecting the validity of the definition (Snyder 1976 : 20).

As a idea and movement, it can be described as :

> an idea, which fills man's brain and heart with new thoughts and sentiment, and drive him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action. [它] seeking to find its expression in what it regards as the highest form of organized activity, a sovereign state. As long as the nationality is not able to attain this consummation, it satisfies itself with some form of autonomy or pre-state organization, which, however, always tends at a given moment, the moment of liberation, to develop into a sovereign state (Kohn 1945 : 162)

Disregarding to the difficulties in reaching an agreed definition, nationalism has been and will remain as one of the most powerful forces in the modern world. The current debates about nationalism focus on whether it is a blessing or curse to human being. The core of the problem is that there are various types of nationalism, ranging from moderate to extreme (Diamond & Plattner 1994 : x, Greenfeld 1992 : 10-14; Nathanson 1997:176-187). The moderate forms are considered to be compatible with human rights and democracy while the extreme forms can cause a lot of blood shed (Dahbour & Ishay 1995 : 1-18 ; Diamond &Plattner 1994 : ix-x; Ng 1997; Tamir 1993).

From the literature review, the search for a agreed definition of nationalism to guide the research is inappropriate and impractical. In addition, a definition of nationalism is simply not sufficiently sophisticated for the building of a framework, because there are so many types of nationalism. Therefore, instead of a definition, types of nationalism, ranging from moderate to extreme, will be adopted for the building of framework to guide the research and will be elaborated in detail in the theoretical orientation.

Literature review

Pedagogies for Civic Education and Nationalistic Education

When examining the role of nationalistic education within civic education, it is necessary to consider pedagogies in schools because these are the means by which teachers instill an understanding of the subject matter in students.. But what pedagogies? Before we start exploring pedagogies, we have to start with missions, which have determinate influence on the choice of pedagogies.

Missions of Civic Education

In many countries, civic education has been assigned the mission of preparing critical thinking, responsible, participating, multidimensional citizens (Becker 1996 : 6-13; Cogan et al 1997: 29-43 ; Hahn 1996: 25-41; Kelle 1996: 61-75). Similarly the *Guidelines for Civic Education in Schools (96)* of Hong Kong has pointed out that :

> [㈜ Developing in young people not only the basic political knowledge, but also the skills, attitudes and competence necessary for them to observe their civic rights and responsibilities, to acquire critical thinking dispositions and civic awareness, and to become rational and responsible citizens who can play a constructive role in the civic mission the nation, the state and world (p.5).

However, this mission has not been successful and is insufficient as well. It is quite often that the emphasis on critical thinking and participation, which tends to be very cognitive, may have left the affective domain of civic education unattained. It is noted that far less research has been done on affective domain and civic education (Scott 1991; Lickona 1991). Not only are they neglected, they are often attributed a negative role. For example, affection may be considered as "a barrier that works against critical thinking. They must be kept under control because they disturb the ongoing process of moral reasoning" (Roebben 1995: 187).

But this neglected aspect is important to the study of civic education. Callan (1994: 191) has warmed that " Civic virtues entail distinctive emotional engagements in the ongoing life of a political community, and politics in a society in which public emotions have largely atrophied will tend to become a matter of apathy and cynicism" .The importance of affection to civic education is also shared by Osborne (1991: 123), who proposes 'caring' as "a principle in distinguishing what is pedagogically worthwhile and what is not, if their teaching is to foster citizenship". But

why is affection so important? It has long been argued that increased cognitive abilities in moral reasoning does not necessary lead to increased moral deed (Chazan 1985). Affection has been considered as one of the important factors that bridges 'knowing' and 'doing' in moral sphere. That is affection is considered as one of the important factors that lead to or motivate moral action (Brabeck & Gorman 1993: 110-168; Hersh et al 1980: 181-199). In their study, Hersh et al (1980: 1-7, 181-199), has pointed out three crucial elements of morality; caring, judging and acting, which are interrelated and cannot be separated. While 'judging', with a strong cognitive element, helps to make rational decision making, 'caring', with a strong affective element, arouses the individual to consider and to contribute to the interest of other people. That is this caring affection acts as a stimulus or motivation for acting morally. In other words, cognitive and affective aspects of morality together constitutes the disposition to act morally. Similarly for civic education, it can be argued that both cognitive and affective aspects together would constitute the disposition of citizens to act for 'public good'. Therefore, both cognitive and affective domains should be taken into consideration in the mission of civic education.

Having said that, the possible danger of over-emphasis on affection, which may becomes the barrier to critical thinking, should not be overlooked (Callan 1994:190-221; Roebben 1995:185-188). Therefore, we should seek for an appropriate balance between cognitive and affective domains in mission formulation and the choice of pedagogies.

Promising Pedagogies

How should we prepare citizens with the above characteristics ? What kinds of pedagogies should be adopted? In this research, pedagogy is 'conceptualized as the way that subject-matter is selected, organized and presented to learners in an educational context so that teachers can accomplish their educational intentions (Print 1996:2).'

It should be noted that there is no single pedagogy which is most appropriate to civic education .Usually a combination of several pedagogies are used by teachers (Print 1996). Based on the previous discussion, the adopted pedagogies should touch upon both cognitive and affective domains.

Twelve common strategies to civic education have been identified by Gross and Dynneson (1991: 1-42). They are Discipline Approach, The Jurisprudence Approach including Law-related Education, the Critical Thinking Approach, the Citizenship as Civic Participation Approach, the Public Issues Approach, the Value Clarification Approach, the Moral Development Approach, the Institutional School Reform Approach, the Citizenship as Persuasion, Socialization and indoctrination Approach, Current Events

approach, the Citizenship as Humanistic Development Approach and the Citizenship as Preparation for Global interdependence Approach.

Based on the work of Bahmueller et al 1991, Dynesson 1992, EEG 1994, Engle & Ochoa (1988), Gross & Dynesson 1991, Osborne 1991, Patrick & Hoge 1991, Sears & Parsons 1992 and SSCEET 1989, 1991, Print (1996) pointed out that " civic and citizenship education emphasizing on critical and participatory citizenship, should be taught using pedagogical strategies that emphasize active, participatory, conceptually challenging, critical thinking, co-operative learning roles for students" (p.2). This implies that the Critical Thinking Approach, the Citizenship as Civic Participation Approach and the Public Issues Approach, identified by Gross and Dynneson (1991: 1-42) may be considered as promising pedagogies. The choice of these three pedagogies are also supported by the criteria for selecting appropriate pedagogies for civic education proposed by Osborne (1991:114). Some of them are: "material is organized as a problem or issue to be investigated"; "careful, deliberate attention is given to the teaching of thinking within the context of valuable knowledge"; "students are required to be active in their own learning"; and "classrooms are characterized by trust and openness so that students find it easy to participate." In addition, the choice of these three pedagogies is further supported by the need of the local context. The Hong Kong *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (96)* has a chapter on 'The Teaching of Controversial Issues in Civic Education' and 'Developing Critical Thinking in Civic Education'. The importance of participation and participatory learning is also highlighted in the *Guidelines (96)*.

Therefore, the following discussion will focus on these three promising pedagogies : Citizenship as Civic Participation , Public Issues and Critical Thinking. The effects of these three pedagogies on both cognitive and affective domains will be discussed.

Citizenship as Civic Participation

The importance of participation in civic education is shared by many scholars (Barber 1989;Newman 1981, 1989; National Institute for Citizen Education in the law 1994; Richard 1994). Many social educators prefer to define it as " a host of seemingly nonpolitical acts, such as work with community organizations, charitable and church-related activities, volunteer work with agencies, and representations to organizations and youth groups (Clark 1989; Newmann 1975; Parker & Jarolimek 1984; Rutter & Newmann 1989, quoted in Ferguson 1991: 385)". Sometimes, participation is expanded

to mean 'participatory learning' which includes teaching methods like case studies, role play, simulation games, debates, use of audio visual aids, quiz, drama, exhibition, fieldwork, document analysis, whole school project, school as model (Print 1996; Porter 1993; Tam 1989).

In order to ensure the educational values of participation, Newman (1989) has alerted us of the importance of 'reflection', in order to consolidate what has been experienced in the participation. He points out that the two main intellectual challenges for students involved in 'reflective civic participation' are to formulate a position and to win support for it. Osborne (1991:157-164) shared a similar idea, thought he uses 'active learning' instead. He says : " Active learning is more than activity-based learning. Active learning means that the students must think about and be involved with what they are learning, and they can do this in many different ways ". This implies that there may be cases where activity-based learning does not lead to active learning. Participatory learning without thinking, for example, 'playing a simulation game' without thinking, reflection, may not be an active learning and may not be useful for civic education.

Concerning the affective domain, participation may confront students with affective arousing scenarios, which may lay down the affective foundation for further in depth learning. The experiences may cause positive or negative emotions and may vary in the degree of involvement. Barker (1989) pointed out that 'public talk' in 'reflective civic participation' encompasses both affective as well as cognitive modes. It has been pointed out that "talk appears as a mediator of affection and affiliation as well as of interest and identity, of patriotism as well as individuality " (p.356).

As discussed, both cognitive and affective domains are taken into account in the *Citizenship as Civic Participation Approach.* Therefore, the choice of this pedagogy is well justified. In addition, it should be noted that this approach can be conducted as class based, school based and even community based, depending on what types of participatory experiences the students have experienced.

Public Issue (Issue Based)

As pointed by Becker (1996: 6):

> Issues-centred education is a curriculum that uses public issues to emphasize controversial questions as the content for social studies. It is an approach towards teaching and learning that does not intend to provide right answers, but underscore the need for students to learn how to examine

> significant questions and become more thoughtful decision makers about public life. It highlights the critical examination of social practices through the direct study of persistent and compelling social issues. It requires analysis and evaluation of evidence, values and decision making.

Although no cause-and-effect relationship between teaching of controversial issues and learning outcomes has been established, however, based upon many studies (Blankenship 1990; Ehman 1969, 1980a, 1980b; Long & Long 1975; Zevin 1983; quoted from Hahn 1996: 25-41), it is reasonable to conclude that "there is reason to believe that when this approach is used under certain conditions, students may like social studies, civic education (added by the author) and may develop higher-order thinking skills, participatory political attitudes, and an awareness and concern about global or other important societal issues" (Hahn 1996 : 25). The conditions include content, pedagogy and climate. Content refers to conflictual content which includes the use of controversial materials or the stimulation of criticism by including perspectives from different cultures, different ideologies and divergent sources of information (Hahn 1996:27). Pedagogy refers to conflictual pedagogy, that models democratic inquiry and discourse, which "encourages students to confront conflicts that either occur spontaneously in the classroom or teacher initiated "(Hahn 1996 : 27). "Students are asked to consider an unresolved policy issue, to examine alternatives, to express their own views and hear and weigh others' views in a 'free marketplace of ideas'" (Hahn 1998:232). Climate refers to :

> When students have the opportunity to explore controversial public issues in a supportive atmosphere, where several sides of an issue are presented or explored, and they feel comfortable expressing their views even when they differ from the teacher's and the other student's' views (Hahn 1998:245).

Similar arguments for teaching controversial issues, including teacher as neutral chairman for discussion so as to encourage students to express different view and listen to others; balanced teaching and learning, so as to ensure students encounter a full range of diverse opinions, have also been developed by U.K. scholars. As for the personal commitment of the teacher, it should be taken as one of the alternative views. (ILEA undated; Stenhouse 1972; Stradling & Noctor 1984). These arguments are underpinned by 'procedural values' : which include respect for reason, respect for evidence, fairness, tolerance, proposed by the Programmes of Political Education :

Political Literacy in United Kingdoms (Crick & Porter 1978).

Similar concern is raised by Lockwood (1996: 28-31) as the role of teacher in controversial issues. He proposed four possible roles : (1) teacher as presiding judge, whose major concern is on procedural matter; (2) teacher as determined advocate, who intends to lead the students to come to a particular conclusion; (3) teacher as nurturing facilitator, whose major concern is to encourage the students to express freely rather than challenging them and (4) teacher as Socratic cross-examiner, who is "akin to that played in the courtroom by prosecution and defense attorneys as they question witnesses"(p.30). Lockwood further argues that a combination of teacher as presiding judge, teacher as nurturing facilitator and teacher as Socratic cross-examiner would be the most appropriate choice.

It should be noted that the 'issue based approach' pays heavy emphasis on cognitive domain but little on the affective domain. This lack of attention to affective domain is the drawback of this pedagogy. But its strength as as revealed by numerous researchers outweighs this drawback. Therefore the choice of this pedagogy is also well justified. In addition, it should be noted that this approach is more commonly conducted as class based and less commonly as school based and rarely community based.

Critical Thinking

Though critical thinking has been interpreted in many ways (Burke 1988 ; Ahlquist 1990), it is considered to be essential in preparing citizens for a democratic community (Brookfield 1987: 51-68; Newmann 1977; Weinstein 1991) and as a hedge against indoctrination (Gutman 1987: 44; Leung & Lau 1997: 34-40). Research has indicated that critical thinking can influence political efficacy and democratic attitude positively, which in term will influence the competence and attitudes towards political participation (Guyton 1988).

It has been pointed out that critical thinker posses both competence to assess statements or actions and disposition to exercise this competence in their daily life (Beyer 1985; D' Angelo quoted in Walsh 1988; Ennis 1979, quoted in Siegel 1988; Siegel 1988).

A variety of skills and sub-skills of critical thinking have been identified by different scholars. Some common ones are: ability to formulate, analyse and asses

assumptions made; evidence, data or reasons advanced; interpretations or claims made; inference, reasoning and lines of formulated thoughts; credibility of information sources. Other skills may include : identifying fallacies in arguments; distinguishing facts and claims; detecting bias; generating alternatives (Beyer 1985; Brookfield 1987; California State University, Chico 1997; Medical College of Georgia 1993, part IV; Paul 1990 quoted from Medical College of Georgia 1993, part III). Though different characterizations of critical thinking have been identified (Burke 1988; Lipman quoted in Weinstein 1991), one central feature agreed by most writers is the "centrality of autonomous judgment" (Weinstein 1991: 9).

Concerning the teaching of critical thinking skills, Beyer (1985) emphasizes the importance of providing opportunities to the learners to understand , to observe and to practice the skills concerned until they have demonstrated they have acquired the skills. For Brookfied (1987), the most important factor is the role modeling of the teacher.

Usually critical thinking is considered as a kind of pure cognitive activity. In fact, emotion is also central to critical thinking (Brookfield 1987). Activities like asking critical questions, questioning taken for granted assumptions, generating alternatives may be anxiety arousing and cause confusion because the learners may feel that their self esteem are being threaten, as their usual patterns of living is being questioned. On the other hand, feeling of joy, relief, excitement may develop when taken for granted assumptions that hinder growth are abandoned and new insightful alternatives are generated (Brookfield 1987). These emotions, either positive or negative, should be deal with properly with care and sensitivity, in order to make sure that the impact on the development of critical thinking is constructive.

From the literature review, it can be argued that this approach pays more emphasize on cognitive domain. Nevertheless, it also takes into account the importance of affective domain in the learning process. Therefore, this pedagogy can also been considered as a reasonable choice. Similar to the Issue Based Approach, this approach is most commonly conducted as class based.

Nationalistic Education

Civic education in many countries and regions, especially Asian countries, for example Japan, Thailand, Philipeines, Singapore, Taiwan, People's Republic of China, Indonesia and Hong Kong is loaded with elements of nationalistic education. Similarly,

civic education in USA can also be very patriotic, with emphasis on "unquestioned patriotism, loyalty to government and nationalism" (Turner 1981:56).

Nationalistic education has been defined as educational activities designed to develop a belief in national values (Nelson 1978), a sense of loyalty to the nation (Thomas 1990, 1993) or love of country (Zevin 1994). Loyalty means 'embracing and seeking to promote the values held by the object toward which loyalty is directed (Thomas 1993: 2).' The loyalty to the nation tends to place the interest of the nation above self interest and other group's interest (Thomas 1993). The love of country instilled may become so strong that it becomes a " willingness to follow the lead of national interests whether they have a firm moral justification or not" (Zevin 1994: 21). A similar view on "unquestioned patriotism" is echoed by Turner (1981). Similarly, civic education for patriotism intends to teach political traditions of the nation, essential knowledge about the government and 'fashioning essential identification and moral sentiments required for performance as effective citizens' (Janowitz 1983: 12, 194).Clearly, the aims of nationalistic education are very much concerned with affection and not much is mentioned about critical thinking. Perhaps, nationalistic education may be considered as a type of, using the terminology of Callan (1994:190), 'sentimental civic education', which emphasizes on cultivation of "emotional allegiance to basic political institute". In this case, the political institute is the nation-state.

Pedagogies of nationalistic education

Since nationalistic education is always considered in the context of civic education, the pedagogies adopted should be in accordance with those of civic education, which emphasizes on critical thinking, participatory citizens, with an appropriate balance between cognitive and affective domains.. But as its aims are so loaded with particular values and affection, its pedagogies tend to be very valued ladened and very loaded with affection too (Nelson 1997; Wu 1996: 26-29; State Commission of Education 1996:45-71). This phenomenon may overturn the appropriate balance between cognitive and affective domains which may lead to undesirable results.

Concerning critical thinking, the commonly adopted pedagogies which are so emotionally charged, are not beneficial to the development of critical thinking. Two common approaches have been identified : the 'positive approach' which emphasizes on the 'bright' side of the nation and the 'negative approach' which emphasizes the 'dark' side of the 'enemies' (Nelson 1978, 1997), or a combination of the two. The biased presentation of 'bright side' may

arouse positive feelings, for example empathy, love, appreciation for the nation. While the biased presentation of 'dark side' of the enemies may arouse negative feelings, for example hatred, anger, hostility towards the enemy. As pointed out by the State Commission of Education of People's Republic of China (1996:57), "a unlimited loyalty and strong affection for the nation and hatred towards the opinions and actions of the enemies" will be developed. The result is that a biased, distorted and emotional view may be presented. It should be noted that nationalistic education classifies strong affections into constructive and destructive, according to whether the affections help in achieving the goals of nationalistic education or not (State Commission of Education (1996). It seems that nationalistic education fails to recognize the detrimental effect of strong affection on critical thinking. To the worst, these strong affections may become barriers to critical thinking (Callan 1994:190-221; Roebbeb 1995:185-188).

Concerning participation, nationalistic education uses quite a lot of participatory learning, for example, the use of rituals, ceremonies, symbols including national flag and national anthem, dramas of historic and contemporary patriotic heroes. Moreover, direct field experiences are also used. All these experiences can arouse a lot of affections. As pointed out by previous discussion, these experiences should be accompanied with thought, in depth discussion, in order to ensure the participation is educational valuable.

In facing controversial issues, nationalistic education may have different approaches in different countries. In comparing the text books of USA and Indonesia (Thomas 1993: 11,12), it was found that the Indonesian textbooks tend to avoid controversial issue about the nation but the USA textbooks have a much higher percentage on controversial issues about the nation. When asked about 'In what way does the textbook's treatment of each controversy reflect on the moral values a patriot should support (p.11)? ', three approaches were identified. The first approach is 'directly advocating one side of the controversy and specifying that true patriots should favor that side (p.11).' The second approach is 'presenting both sides of the controversy without directly preferring either side, but doing so in a manner that implies one side is more worthy (p.11).' The third approach is 'presenting both sides of the conflict without stating or implying that one is more virtuous than the other (p.11).' The research further pointed out that the Indonesia textbook

consistently adopted the first approach, while the USA one vacillated between the second and third approach. Apparently, the third approach is most educationally sound from the view of teaching of controversial issues (Hahn 1996; Harwood & Hahn 1990; National Institute for Citizen Education in the law 1994).

Integrating the above discussion, it seems that, if nationalistic education has to been considered as an aspect of civic education, it should be aiming at educating critical thinking, participatory citizens with affection for the nation. There should be an appropriate balance between the affective and cognitive domain. This balance should also been reflected in the pedagogies adopted. Promising pedagogies for nationalistic education must take into consideration of the appropriate balance of cognitive and affective domain. The characteristics or conditions of pedagogies reflected in the three approaches: Citizenship as Civic Participation , the Public Issues and Critical Thinking may be contributive to the development of framework for the study of implementation of nationalistic education.

Theoretical Orientation

Framework for the understanding of nationalism

In addressing research questions 1,2 and 3, a framework is needed to guide the research for the analysis of perceptions / understandings of nationalism and nationalistic education of the civic educators in schools. This framework should be able to address the relationships between nationalistic and the other aspects of civic education in the *Guidelines On Civic Education in Schools (96)* of Hong Kong, including education for democracy, human rights education, education for rule of law, global education and education for critical thinking.

The literature review reveals that a definition is insufficient for this purpose. For contested and sophisticate concept like nationalism, classification is a better way of making sense of it. Depending on the backgrounds of scholars, nationalism can be classified in many ways (Heywood 1997:109-115; Keung 1994: 35-52; Snyder 1977: 112-132). Some of them are moderate and inclusive while some are extreme and exclusive. Taken into account the literature review, the local context of Hong Kong and the work by Leung & Cheng (1998) on the perception of nationalistic education of civic educators, an expanded, amalgamated framework , composed of five types of nationalism is proposed. They include 'biological ethnic nationalism', 'ethnic / cultural nationalism', 'civic / democratic nationalism', 'cosmopolitan nationalism', 'totalitarian nationalism' and 'anti-colonial nationalism'.

- Biological ethnic nationalism

  This type of nationalism places emphasis on blood ties, colour of skin , kinship, ethnic origin (Nelson undated). Basically, this type of nationalism is very exclusive and may become extreme because the dividing line between "we' and 'they' is unchangeable as the dividing criteria are hereditary. However, biological ethnic nationalism is becoming increasingly common in the wake of former communist countries.

- Ethnic / cultural nationalism

  This conception of nationalism is derived from Smith's (1996/7) 'ethnic conception of nation' which emphasizes on common historic territory, shared myths and memories and the Tamir's (1993) concept of 'cultural version of nation', which emphasizes the rubric of culture and national consciousness.

A similar but more elaborated definition by Snyder (1976) is used as a definition of ethnic / cultural nationalism :

> that sentiment of a group or body of people living within a compact or a non-contiguous territory, using a single language or related dialects as a vehicle for common thoughts and feelings, holding a common religious belief, possessing common institutions, traditions and customs acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history, venerating national heroes and cherishing a common will for social homogeneity.' For the 'we' sentiment, it did not necessarily develop from the same ethnic origin (Snyder 1976 : 20).

This type of nationalism is more inclusive as assimilation and learning of culture, religious belief, customs are possible.

- Civic / democratic nationalism

This conception of nationalism is derived from Smith's (1996/7) 'civic conception of nation' which emphasizes the common rights and duties of the people and Tamir's (1993) concept of 'democratic version of nation', which emphasizes the right of individuals to participate in the governing of their lives and to participate in the determination of the aims and the policies of the nation.

A similar but more elaborated definition by Ignatieff (1993) is used as the definition of civic / democratic nationalism :

> Civic nationalism maintains that the nation should be composed of all those- regardless of race, color, creed, gender, language or ethnicity- who subscribe to the nation's political creed. This nationalism is called civic because it envisages the nation as a community of equal, rights - bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values. This nationalism is necessarily democratic since it vests sovereignty in all of the people. [(元) what holds a society together is not common roots but law. By subscribing to a set of democratic procedures and values, individual can reconcile their rights to shape their own lives with their need to belong to a community. This in turn assumes that national belonging can be a form of rational attachment (Ignatieff 1993: 3,4).

The idea of civic nationalism is compatible with the idea of Nodia

(1994) that "nationalism is impossible - indeed unthinkable - without the idea of democracy, and that democracy never exists without nationalism. [ㅠ] coexisting in an almost permanent state of tension" (p.4). It has also been pointed out that the solidarity and identification derived from the national belonging is very important for the success of a democratic self government (Diamond & Plattner 1994 : x-xiv; Taylor 1996 : 119-121).

This type of nationalism is clearly inclusive.

- Cosmopolitan nationalism / patriotism

In this research, 'cosmopolitan' and 'global/world citizen' will be used interchangeably. Both terms have similar meanings, which refer to individuals who believe that all human beings are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights; who show great respect to basic human rights which bind all people together. They also have deep concern and love for all mankind, disregarding to race, gender, nationality, religion, class. They share the idea of 'global village' which means that all human being are living in a world in which the destinies of all nations are closely intertwined with respect to basic goods and survival. As citizens of the 'global village', individuals have the responsibility to participate to work for the betterment of mankind (Nussbaum 1996 : 2-17 ; Appiah 1996 : 21-29; Falk 1996 : 53-60).

Cosmopolitan nationalism / patriotism means that 'our loyalty to the human kind does not deprive us of the capacity to care for people closer by (Appiah 1996 : 26) and at the same time, we would not 'neglect the interest of people who are not related to us through, say, kinship or community or nationality (Sen 1996 : 114). That is the 'kind of patriotism that is open to universal solidarities against other, more closed kinds (Taylor 1996 : 121). This implies that :

> The cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of his or her own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different, people (Appiah 1996: 22).

This type of nationalism is definitely the most inclusive.

- Totalitarian nationalism

This type of nationalism is usually associated with totalitarian regimes with strong ideologies. Usually, the love of the nation is taken to be equivalent to the love for the ruling party and the ideologies.

This type of nationalism is bound to be exclusive, since it excludes people of different parties and ideologies.

- Anti-colonial nationalism

This type of nationalism is usually associated with Asian and African nations. It has a strong element of opposing and overthrowing oppressive, imperialism and colonialism. It urges to fight against foreign rules for political and economic independence and racial equality. This implies that this type of nationalism is a liberating force from the Western oppression. But the negative side of this type of nationalism should also been noted. If not properly tempered, it can become very emotional and negative, leading to national arrogance, xenophobia and aggression (Asiaweek 1996; Chavan 1973; Heywood 1997; Snyder 1968, 1976).

All these six types of nationalism are important for the understanding of nationalism of the civic educators in Hong Kong.

Both biological ethnic nationalism and ethnic/cultural nationalism are very common and important in the understanding of Hong Kong people. Patriotic songs with phrases like 'black hair', 'yellow skin' 'black eyes' and 'descendant of the Yellow Emperor' are very common. Officials from People's Republic of China have repeatedly emphasised that 'Chinese national characteristics know no frontiers. They are based on bonds of blood, cultural heritage and concern for the well-being of the motherland (Barry 1997: 4).' All Chinese in Taiwan , Mainland China, Hong Kong and other parts of the world should be re-united because they are all descendants of the Yellow Emperor (Barry 1997). These kinds of ideas are shared among many Hong Kong civic educators.

'The 'civic / democratic nationalism' bridges nationalism and democracy and rule of law, while the 'cosmopolitan nationalism' bridges nationalism with global education and human rights.

Totalitarian nationalism is very important in the understanding of nationalism in Hong Kong people too because this is highly valued by the officials and scholars in the

People's Republic of China. They equate the love for the nation with love for the Chinese Communist Party and the love for socialism, since they argued that only Communist Party can save China (Qi et.al 1985 ; Qu 1989 :173 -183). Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of Chinese Communist Party has said:

> In the contemporary China, both patriotism and socialism are united in nature. Only socialism can save China and build a bright, new China. Under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party, the implementation of patriotism is the building up and development of socialist democracy in China (Jiang 1990).

At a first glance, totalitarian nationalism is very strange to Hong Kong people because Hong Kong runs a system completely different from socialism. But the report of Leung and Cheng (1998) revealed that this type of nationalism may have certain influence on the understanding of Hong Kong civic educators.

Anti-colonial nationalism is again important. Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of Chinese Communist Party has emphasised that:

> Patriotism is a product of historical evolution. In the age of Revolution, patriotism aims at the overthrow of imperialism, colonialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It helped to mobilize the people to fight against foreign invaders and to liberate China from the dark and enter the bright, new China (Jiang 1990).

The shame of being a British colony is shared among many Hong Kong people, though Hong Kong has developed rapidly under colonial rule. In the educational field, invasions of foreign nations, especially the British, has always been used as materials for nationalistic education.

In sum, all these six types of nationalism are useful in building a framework for the study of understandings of nationalism and nationalistic education of the civic educators in schools.

Framework for the study of implementation of nationalistic education

In addressing research questions 4, 5 and 6, a framework is needed to guide the study of the implementation of nationalistic education in schools.

From the literature review, if nationalistic education has to been considered as an aspect of civic education, it should be aiming at educating critical thinking, participatory citizens with affection for the nation. There should be an appropriate balance between the affective and cognitive domain. This balance should also been reflected in the pedagogies adopted. Promising pedagogies must take into consideration of the appropriate balance of cognitive and affective domain, and the controversial nature of the issues being studies. A set of questions, based on the three promising pedagogies: citizenship as civic participation , public issue/issues based approach, critical thinking, is proposed as a framework to guide the study of implementation.

Programme of nationalistic education	Participation	Controversial issues	Critical thinking	Values	Cognitive affective
Planning and preparation					
Implementation					
Follow up					

Participation:

1. Is participatory learning encouraged?
2. What participatory learning are commonly used? Are they class based, school based, or community based?
3. Are opportunities provided to the students for reflection and discussion of their experiences?
4. Are they encouraged to (i) formulate their positions and (ii) win support for their positions, in the discussion ?

Controversial issues (modified and adapted from Hahn 1998: ch 5)

1. Are controversial issues commonly used for teaching?
2. Are controversial issues handled as controversial issues or non-controversial ?
3. If controversial issues are used for teaching, are different perspectives of the controversial issue explored?
4. Are students encouraged to make up their own minds?
5. Are students encouraged to speak out freely and openly ?
6. Are students encouraged to hold their own stand, different from the teacher,

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classmates?

7. What is the role of the teacher/s?

Critical Thinking

Does the programme, encourage the development of critical thinking of the students by providing opportunities for them to study, observe and practice some of the following critical thinking abilities, for example, ability to formulate, analyse and asses :

1. assumptions made,
2. evidence, data or reasons advanced'
3. interpretations or claims made,
4. inference, reasoning and lines of formulated thoughts,
5. credibility of information sources,

and abilities in

6. identifying fallacies in arguments,
7. distinguishing facts and claims,
8. distinguishing facts and claims,
9. detecting bias,
10. generating alternatives ?

(Beyer 1985; Brookfield 1987; California State University, Chico 1997; Medical College of Georgia 1993, part IV; Paul 1990 quoted from Medical College of Georgia 1993, part III).

Values

1. What are the values involved in the programme ?
2. To what degree are the values consistent with the proposed civic values in the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (96)* ?

Cognitive and affective domains:

1. Is the affective domain of the students involved in the programme, activities?
2. What is/are the affection/s involved? Is it/ are they positive or negative feeling? How strong is it/ are they?
3. Is the balance of cognitive and affective domain appropriate?

For the left of the matrix, there are three categories, namely 'planning and preparation', 'implementation' and 'follow up'. In the 'planning and preparation', focus

will be on the identification of aims and objective, proposed pdedagogies and follow up activities from relevant documents, for example, minutes of meetings, lesson plans, plans for activities, and from relevant teacehrs. For 'implementation', focus will be on the actual practice of the teachers in the classroom or other venues, teaching kids and aids used. For 'follow up', focus will be on the proposed activities, assignments and how they are used for the consolidation of what has been learned.

The above discussed framework will be used to guide the development of various instruments for data collection.

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